/21 cont./

411 184 there is a Xamatâri poisoned arrow in the possession of the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:7).

411 171 114 [439] Métraux writes with reference to the poisoned arrows: "Poisoned arrows were not so widely used by the Indians as is commonly assumed from the exaggerated accounts of the Spanish conquistadors. Curare, which is the most deadly poison known to the Indians, is prepared by relatively few tribes though it is traded throughout wide regions" /cited in English/ (95). Among

95. Métraux, 1949, p. 242.

Karaiben /Carib/ tribes in Guiana, poisoned arrows which are shot with a bow are not very often encountered, for they are documented only for the Makuxí /Macusi/ by Richard Schomburgk (96) and for

96. Richard Schomburgk, 1847, p. 428.

411 171 the Trio by de Goeje (97). It should be mentioned in this connec-

97. de Goeje, 1906, p. 15; Pl. V, Figs. 10-12; Pl. XI, Fig. 22.

tion, however, that many Karaiben, for example, the Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/, shoot small poisoned arrows with a blowgun; this weapon is unknown to the Surára and Pakidái.

278 Arrow poisons:

[192] [184] According to what my Surára informants reported to me, they use three kinds of poison of different strengths, all of which, however, they designate by the general name -- mamokôrimaunápe. This name is almost the same as the one which the Waiká, according to Zerries, use for arrow poison -- mamokordi (98).

98. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

/22 cont./

411 524 [824] Boys' bow:

The boys' bow -- hauoś -- is 80-90 centimeters long and consists of a curved branch of the paiocôrimá tree, which also furnishes the material for the bird arrow-points. As in the case of all branch-bows, the arms are of different lengths, so that an unsymmetrical shape is produced, which affects the accuracy of the

Fig. 3. Position for shooting with the bow.

shot. This is of no consequence, however, since these are merely [283] [824] toy bows for small boys. On both ends the bow staff is tapered and set off to receive the bowstring -- pebatábe -- which is made out of a liana (cipó-titica) (Fig. 2g).

Boys' arrows:

[192] [824] [237] [283] [192] Ruhumacfk is the name of the thin arrow, 80-90 centimeters long, for boys, which the fathers make out of the wood of the inaja palm Maximiliana regia Mart.) -- kareximací. The feathering -- jaronahík -- consists of two small halves of mutum feathers, which are lashed to the shaft with a thread of cotton. Instead of an arrow point mounted separately, the arrow here is only slightly pointed (Fig. 2h); the designation for it is -- peimacikenâme.

Surára
Pakidái

/29 cont./
and ridiculous (152) (153) (154).

152. Nimuendajú, 1914, pp. 321/22.

153. Becher, 1951, I, pp. 180/81;
II, plate and Map No. 18.

154. Becher, 1955, pp. 144/45.

On festival and ceremonial occasions, men, women, and children from the age of four on also tie over the hip cord a cotton belt -- nyõ -- (155), which is always open in front. As

155. It is the same word that is used to designate the cotton hammock.

a rule, the belts are made by the women; bachelors, however, must make their own.

These are the string belts typical for Guiana (156) (157),

156. Becher, 1951, I, p. 169.

157. Becher, 1955, p. 138.

which, however, take on an appearance somewhat different from the familiar form because of wrappings or cross-bindings. /Fig. 6 appears here./

All the men's and boys' belts are roll-shaped and have a length of 70-80 centimeters and 40-50 centimeters, respectively. The diameter for the former is 4-5 centimeters, and for the latter, 2-3 centimeters. They are very simple to make, for around two small sticks thrust into the ground, the distance between them determining the length of the belt, a long cotton thread is looped until a thick layer is finally obtained. This is then simply tightly wound with a thin string of cotton or

Surára
Pakidái
Pusebeweteri

292 /30 cont./
284 girls and 0.5 centimeter for those of old women. This distin-
guishing feature was always pointed out to me. Tie strings and
292 the wearing style correspond in this case too with the men's belts,
53 as does the painting with urucú, which is applied on the outer
[386] side. As a result of their width, these belts are much easier to
paint than those of the men. Most often one sees serpentine lines,
occasionally circles are placed between them, and sometimes too
the painting only consists of circles, or circles and dots (Fig.
9 a-e; Fig. 10 a-d); there are also belts, however, which are
colored red all over.

292 Xirifna women who are married to Surára and Pakidái
184 men wear the same belts, as did the little captive of the Surára,
Nikeromá, from the hostile tribe of the /31/ /Figs. 8 and 9 ap-
pear here/ /32/ /Fig. 10 appears here/ Karauaterí (Ills. 17 and
• [192] 18). When I asked them the name of their belts, they gave me
the designation -- nyõ -- which corresponds to the Surára and
Pakidái word.

292 The Pusebeweteri women gave me the same word, although
184 their belts have a somewhat different form (161). They are 60-
[192]

161. I saw them on the women of that tribe
who were married to Surára and Pakidái men.

70 centimeters long and consist solely of a thick layer of cotton
292 which has been somewhat twisted together. In other words, it is
284 a very characteristic string-belt, that is, without wrappings or
184 cross-bindings. An additional little fringed apron, however, 22-
26 centimeters long, is attached to a tie-string. To make it, 60 to
90 cotton strings, 14-18 centimeters long, are put over the tie-
string. After that, starting from the left, the end of the first
string hanging down in front is knotted with the one of the second
hanging down in back and tightly twisted with it, then the front
end of the second one with the rear end of the third, and so
forth. The fringes hanging down are 7-9 centimeters long and,
to assure firmness, are wound once more below the tie-string
292 with a thin cotton thread. When the belt is worn, the little
53
184

[text continues on p. 69]

291 /36 cont./
171 been documented for the men of the Makuxí (193) and Waiwai (194).

193. Farabee, 1924, p. 61.

194. Farabee, 1924, Pl. XXX.

b) Chest cords

301 The simple cord slung crosswise over chest and back --
• [192] xinarîke -- and the similarly used string-bundle -- xinarî -- (195)

195. This name is identical with the word for cotton.

represent among the Surára and Pakidái characteristic articles of clothing for the girls and women. Among the latter, the cord or string-bundle runs directly below the breasts and crosses over the chest cavity, so that, at first glance, it looks like a bust support; but no lifting of the breast is connected with it, for it is quite loose (Ill. 10).

[823] Whereas the women's cord, 1.50-1.60 meters long, twisted
[824] out of two threads, and knotted at the ends, is made of curauá fibers or cotton (the length of the corresponding girls' cord is 1.20-1.40 meters), in the case of the string bundles there are layers of cotton 56-90 centimeters long, which consist of 60-80 strings and are tied together at one point. The thinner specimens are used by young women and the thicker ones by older women.
386 Both the string bundles and the cord are either dyed red all over
301 or, as in the case of the former, for example, are provided with
[531] red rings, one centimeter wide, at intervals of 6-7 centimeters
[302] (Fig. 13a and b), for which urucú dye is used. Undyed objects in time take on a dirty brown appearance, like the hammocks, for the red body-painting adheres to the cotton.

301 The chest cord, which is now and then tied around little girls
856 from four years old on, is supposed to help give them beautifully shaped breasts later on. Even the younger women, however, have

301 /37 cont./
856 Thus, the upper-arm cord -- xinariúnko -- is supposed to impart greater muscular and arm power (198). The wrist cord used

[192]

198. It is noteworthy that the curauś-fiber cord is also called by the word Xinariúnko, although the name for cotton -- xinarí -- is contained in it.

only by women and girls, likewise called xinariúnko, strengthens the wrists, it is believed, and the cord worn below the knees -- hukuś -- the legs.

301 171 As an ornament for the upper arms, however, besides the simple cord, bands of string -- nyõõmutimś -- the forms of which are exact miniature reproductions of the belts (199), a

[192]

199. In the word -- nyõõmutimś -- there is contained the name for belt, nyõ, to which is appended the diminutive form õmutimś.

novelty /38/ for South America, since there are as yet no parallels for this. Thus, the string-bands of the men, 20-22 centimeters long and 1.5-2 centimeters in diameter (string-bands of boys: length, 12-15 centimeters; diameter, 0.5-1 centimeter), have the same roll-shaped appearance as their belts (Fig. 14a and b; Fig. 15a and b) and are made and painted or dyed by the women in the same way (see pp. 64/65). The wide, flat shape of the women's bands (length, 18-22 centimeters; width, 1-2.5 centimeters), however, corresponds perfectly with the belts worn by them, apart from the smaller size (Fig. 16a-c; Fig. 17), so that with regard to the manufacture and painting I can refer to the making of the women's belts (see p. 66). It should also be mentioned that the upper-arm /Figs. 14-16 appear here/ bands of younger women are narrower (1-1.5 centimeters) than those of older women (2-2.5 centimeters) (200).

200. An older Pakidái woman, by the way, wore a woven upper-arm band two and a half

/41 cont./

301 as far as Guiana; the Tapuya on the eastern horn of South
171 America remain isolated. The pattern of distribution coincides
301 in essential features with the multiple perforations of the upper
304 lip (these parts also merge into each other very much anatomi-
171 cally) and clearly rests on Andean prototypes" (222). The

222. Menzel, 1957, p. 33.

characteristic mouth-corner rods of the Yanonámi women may well fit into this area of distribution, but not in connection with perforations of the upper /42/ lip, for here instead of the latter, the lower lip is pierced.

304 g) Tattooing
[881] All women and girls have pin-point tattooing over the upper lip, which extends downward on either side of the mouth (Ills. 19 and 24) and is punctured on the girls during the first menstrua-
• [192] tion (see p. 66) (223). The designation for this among the Surára

[184]

223. This tattooing is also found among the female Xiriána, Puseheweterí, and Aramamesterí who are married to Surára and Pakidái men. The little captive of the Surára, Nikeromá, from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterí is an exception. She assured me, however, that in her maloka the girls are also tattooed. But she had fallen into the hands of the Surára before her first menstruation, and the tattooing was not put on her here. If later, however, she is married by a Surára man, the pin-point design must subsequently be punctured on her.

is -- uarabakoxík -- and among the Pakidái -- uarabakoxíbe.
[824] These words are derived from the name for the genipap fruit --
[386] uarabá --, the juice of which is used for puncturing the dots.

Surára
pakidái

/46 cont./

352
[192] Instead of the yâritanaçík (embira hammock), the Surára and Pakidái men, on their rovings and hunting and war expeditions, also /47/ frequently use a liana hammock -- totokê -- (254) (255),

254. The name is derived from tototó, with which the liana (-ipê vine) is designated.

255. Except for a slight dialectal difference, the name corresponds to the Waiká word -- "toto" --, with which, however, according to statements by Zerries, they designated their tree-bast hammocks (Zerries, 1955a, p. 87).

which is likewise very light but gives the sleeper a somewhat firmer support. The lengths of these hammocks vary between
[462] 1.90 and 2.10 meters. They, too, are without cross-bindings
352 and are likewise made only by men. This is done as follows:
284 The man has a rather large bundle of long lianas lying in front of him. He splits each one with his teeth into 3-5 flat strips and places these side by side. When he has gathered as many strips as he can easily grasp with one hand, approximately 200-250, he winds a thick liana around the ends. Below the wrapping he then divides the flat strips into several bunches of equal size, each of which he winds twice with two split, twisted lianas (Fig. 19 and Fig. 20). This makes the bundle of strips wider at the ends. As tie ropes the man uses three lianas plaited like braids (Ill. 27).

352
184 Such hammocks are likewise used by the Waiká (256) and

256. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

Xiriána, but the latter Indians sometimes provide them with cross-bindings of cotton strings (257).

257. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 314 and Pl. 46 (1).

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/49 cont./

285 462 [824] More highly developed is the carrying basket which consists of bast strips of the curauá plant (Ananas sativus Sch.) -- uaramá. It is made by the male members of the tribe in the following manner: Two groups of plaiting strips are laid on top of each other in different directions and then interwoven with a third group of strips running in still another direction (Ill. 33).

285 194 [971] This, according to Max Schmidt's classification, is the third principal type of South American plaiting (272) (273). This type

272. Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 490 ff.

273. Max Schmidt, 1905, pp. 330 ff.

of basket (274), which is very widespread in South America, is

274. Abundant comparative material is to be found in Roth (Roth, 1924, pp. 321 ff. and Pl. 100 B and 102) and Mason (Mason, 1904, pp. 529 ff. and Pl. 240 (1, 2).

also regarded as very old, but today is seldom used any more by the Surára and Pakidái. Nothing concerning its origin is known any more among the tribes named. An autochthonous development [179] is possible, but an adoption from Karaiben or Aruak tribes, who use similar baskets, is more probable. The same basket is [184] likewise confirmed for the related Karimé (275).

275. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Figs. 9 and 10.

285 824 192 The one most frequently used at present is the women's large carrying-basket made of liana strips (276) -- wuëka --, which "has the shape of a somewhat elongated semicircle" (Ill. 34).

276. Each individual liana is split with the teeth into several flat strips. (Cf. also p. 101).

/51 cont./

285 [192] [824] Then there are small baskets with handles and square bottoms -- yorohíkes -- (Ill. 36), in which women keep their ornaments, arm, leg, and chest cords, the spindle and balls of cotton. To make these, split lianas are again used. The technique employed is very primitive, for the plaiting strip is merely led [184] alternately over and under a plaiting strand (287). The shape of

287. Max Schmidt includes this technique in the first principal group of South American plaiting (Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 492/93).

these little baskets seems to be peculiar to the Surára and Pakidái, for in the literature I have not yet found a corresponding description with reference to other tribes.

285 824 372 Simple plaited fire-fans -- xuhéma -- are made of the leaf-stalk sheaths of the tucumã palm (Astrocaryum sp.). They have an elongated shape, and the ends of the strips are tied together to form a handle (Fig. 22).

285 372 174 171 Similar fans, but more evenly worked, were found by Koch-Grünberg among the Makiritare, Yekuaná /Yecuana/, and Guinaú in the catchment area of the upper Orinoco (288), from which one

288. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 345 and Pl. 24, 6.

might conclude that this object reached the Surára and Pakidái from here, probably by way of the Xiriána. The reverse route might also be possible, however, if only because most of the Karaiben and Aruak tribes of Guiana use fire-fans with a handle set crosswise (289).

289. Roth, 1924, pp. 291 ff., Pl. 78, 79, and Fig. 91.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

252 /51 cont./
184
285 The tube-press -- pokunho -- has only recently gained entry
[192] among the Surára and Pakidái. Among the former I discovered only three specimens, among the latter five, all of which /52/ /Fig. 22 appears here/ were made of bast strips of the curauá plant
[438] (Ananas sativus Sch.) and were relatively small (length, 1.10-1.20 meters; diameter, 3-4 centimeters). They were in the possession of a few families who had obtained them by barter
[192] from the Xiriána. Heretofore the manioc pulp has been pressed out with the hand by means of small, square plaitings -- yorohí -- (290).

290. The name is practically identical with the one for the small basket with handle -- yorohikes -- and the plaiting technique is the same throughout.

[178] Even today this method is more common than the one with the tube-press, but the latter is gradually beginning to come in.
[426] Families who do not as yet own a tube-press sometimes borrow one, for up to now it has been made neither by the Surára nor the
114 Pakidái. The above reference to the fact that the tube-press is
252 supposed to represent an import article from the Xiriána is
174 significant, however. That is, when Koch-Grünberg stayed with
285 a Xiriána group in Motomotó, he did not find any there, but only small basket-winnowers, in which the manioc pulp was squeezed
[177] with the hand (291). Hence it is to be assumed that these Indians,

291. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308.

too, have not known the tube-press for very long; presumably they took it over from the Karaiben. /Fig. 23 appears here./

/52 cont./

854
287
[824]
[413]
[412]
854
[171]
[184]
[114]

9. Band for Carrying Children

The band for carrying children -- okomakuá -- is made from the bast of an embira tree (Daphnopsis brasiliensis Mart.). For this purpose thin trunks are cut down by the men. Then the women remove the bark and /53/ with a bast beater -- xamotimá -- (a piece of wood 30-40 centimeters long, from the embira tree) beat on the trunk for 1-2 hours. Through this the bast -- uarimaxíke -- becomes loosened, soft, and pliable, so that finally it can be easily peeled off the trunk -- pekehík -- (Fig. 23a-c). Then the two ends are slipped into each other and sewed double with a thread of Bromelia fibers or cotton. The holes are pierced beforehand with the little cutia-tooth knife (see p.117), and then the thread can be drawn through without effort.

The carrying-band is always slung over the right shoulder so that the right hand remains free for work, and it ends at the level of the left hip (Ill. 15), which gives the sitting child additional support if the mother puts its legs around her body.

This carrying method is very widespread in South America and is also employed by tribes that do not use the carrying-band (292). Among the Xiriána Koch-Grünberg does not seem to

292. See, for example, Koch-Grünberg 1923a, Pl. 45.

have seen such carrying-bands, for he says nothing about them.

10. Receptacles

415
824
[192]

As receptacles, the fruits of the Bignoniaceae (Crescentia cujete Lin.) and Cucurbitaceae (Cucurbita lagenaria Lin. and Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda = jamaru), which offer a variety of shapes (ball shape, bottle shape, cucumber shape, and others), are used principally.

These vessels in general are called -- horotoká --, except for those of the jamaru fruit (Fig. 24), which are called -- nhapotoíma.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waiká
Karimé

/53 cont./

415 Fruits cut in two furnish correspondingly shaped bowls --
824 maraká. In order to cut them, men or women tie curauá fibers
around the fresh fruit and then scratch along this with the little
[386] cutia-tooth knife (see p.117). On the inside all the bowls are
given a black coating, which is made out of the charred wood of
the pupunha palm and the oily yolk of turtle eggs or cayman fat.

415 A few families also have black, thick-walled, undecorated
323 clay vessels -- haboká -- with a round bottom, which are poorly
[438] fired and break easily. I was told that they come from the Xiriána (293),

293. The name, too, is almost the same among the latter -- "hapóga" -- (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, p. 304).

for the Surára and Pakidái do not practice pottery themselves.

323 On the other hand, this craft is also familiar to the Waiká and
184 Karimé, and, to be sure, they make vessels of the same shape as described above (294) (295). /Fig. 24 appears here./

294. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

295. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Fig. 12.

123 My pots and pans of aluminum, brought along as gifts, were
415 highly prized by the women of both tribes, as were empty gasoline cans and food cans.

/54/

11. Tools

412 Primitive tools, which consist of teeth, tortoise shell, bone, taquara, bamboo, and wood, are few.

[192] The most important one, and reserved exclusively for male
[237] use, is a small knife made out of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) -- tomenáke --, which every Surára and Pakidái wedges under his left upper-arm cord while traveling and on hunting and war expeditions (Ill. 31) (296). The lower part

[301] 296. The women use the cutia teeth as ear ornaments (see p. 86).

Surára
Pakidái

/54 cont./ The lower part
412 of the tooth is firmly anchored with tree resin in a tubular bone
[314] of the jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.) -- nyapín -- which at the
[723] same time serves as the handle and is called -- nyapínmatáz --,
[192] and this part of the shaft is additionally wound with a thread of cotton or curauá (Bromelia fiber) (Fig. 25). /Fig. 25 appears here./

With this small knife the arrow cane is bored to insert the tip, a wooden shaft, or the notched hand-end. The crudely carved bamboo points are improved and sharpened with it, as

[415]
[824]

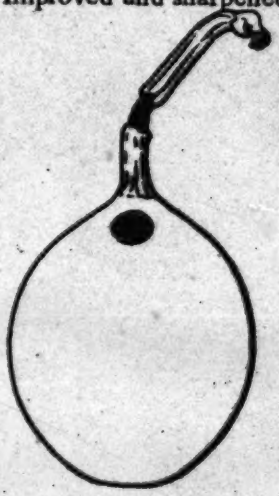

Fig. 24. Jamaru fruit.

are the points of bone and wood. It is also used, however, to bore holes in the hearth, that is, the horizontal piece of wood of the fire-making apparatus, and to cut a groove at the side. The
[531] serpentine lines and zigzag designs are put on the quiver with it,
[593] and finally it is used by the men to make deep gashes on the bodies of their wives for reasons of jealousy. Almost all the women have large and small scars from this; they always showed them to me with a certain amount of pride, however, as a sign that they are, or were, beautiful and desirable.

412 Other tribes of Guiana, too, and those that in the rest of
184 South America are part of the remnants of the original stratum
[191] use these small knives. They are documented for the Waiká by

/55 cont./

412 knives are sometimes bound to a pointed wooden handle. This
184 strengthening, however, certainly was not added later, but rather is simply the shaft which the Xiriâna, unlike the Surâra and Pakidâi, mount on their arrow points (see p. 43).

412 For cutting hair and shearing off the tonsure, decidedly
462 women's work, a split piece of reed sharpened on one side
302 (taquara -- Guadua sp.) is used.

412 Such "knives" are also widespread among the South American
171 Indians; Prince zu Wied-Neuwied documents them for the Botokuden (307).

307. Prince zu Wied-Neuwied, 1821, p. 9.

412 Another important tool is the eyetooth from the lower jaw
237 of the wild pig -- manacoauá --, with the inner edge of which the men smooth their bows.

[184] This tool is also used for the same purpose by the Waikâ (308).

308. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

412 For work in the fields the men use a digging stick somewhat
[192] flattened at the lower end and 2-2.20 centimeters long --
[824] namunamutehf --, which they make out of the hard wood of the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.); as a substitute they also occasionally use an old, broken bow-staff.

[184] Zerries also observed the latter practice among the Waikâ (309).

309. Zerries, 1956b, p. 153.

413 A piece of round wood from the trunk of the pupunha palm
462 should also be mentioned; it is used by the women as a bast beater -- xamotimá (see also pp. 112/114).

412 This exhausts the use of primitive tools. Even in olden
179 times, there were certainly not many more. During my stay among the two tribes, however, I saw them already using steel axes, as well as tercados (large bush-knives) and small knives.

Surára
Umiá
Shiriana
Pakidái

412 /55 cont./

[432] [439] The Surára acquire these articles by way of barter through their occasional contacts with the piaçabeiros (palm-fiber gatherers) on the Rio Aracá, while they are given to the Pakidái as gifts by the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini. To my question as to whether their ancestors [124] had once used stone axes (I could not discover any), I was always 412 given affirmative replies. They also have a special name for the 192 ax -- hanhokomá. The blade alone is named synonymously, 437 whereas the shaft is called -- hanhokomáhitohí. Most probably 174 the stone axes were acquired by barter, as is the case, according to Schuster, for the Waiká (310). Which tribe furnished this

310. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

import article could no longer be determined, but this time the 412 Xiriána seem to be excluded as the intermediaries. Koch-Grünberg 174 writes: "They (the Xiriána) in former times apparently had no axes 114 at all to cut down the forest. At any rate, they did not know what to do with a stone ax that I showed them" (311a).

311a. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

481

12. Equipment for Climbing

[137] [192] To climb up tall palms with a smooth trunk, such as the açaí (Euterpe oleracea Mart.), bacaba (Oenocarpus distichus or Oenocarpus /56/ bacaba Mart.), bucu (Manicaria saccifera Gaertn.), buriti (Mauritia vinifera Mart.), inaja (Maximiliana regia Mart.), paxiuba (Iriartea exorrhiza Mart.), tucuma palm (Astrocaryum sp.), and others, the Surára and Pakidái use the climbing ring -- horohoromá --, which consists of a split liana (cipó-titica) rolled up several times. The ends of the liana are wound around the ring several times and tied with a knot (Fig. 27). /Fig. 27 appears here./

Surára
Pakidái

/78 cont./

222 carrying baskets. -- Of the fruits of the wild cacao tree (Theobroma sp.) -- boroá --, which has many branches and whose foliage is dense and dark, only the sweet pith of the husks is sucked out, while the beans, which played such an important part among the high-culture peoples of Central America, are carelessly thrown away (363). -- The apple-like fruit of the lucuma tree

[184] [192] [114]

363. Zerries reports the same thing of the Waiká, and here the names are "loa" or "boholoa" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 150; Zerries, 1958c, p. 177).

(Lucuma macrocarpa Hub.) -- kumató -- is valued for its sweetish, gelatinous pulp that surrounds the pit; the /79/ outer meat of the fruit and the shell, on the other hand, has a very bitter, unpleasant taste. -- The fruit of the wild pineapple, which only reaches the size of a medium-sized apple, is also eaten with relish.

The pods of the pacova sororoca, a Musaceae species (Ravenala guianensis Benth.) -- mokohé -- (364), gathered espe-

364. The pacova-sororoca is often erroneously called "wild banana" because its large leaves, which resemble those of the banana trees.

cially frequently, contribute more to the everyday food. -- When there is an occasional food shortage during the rainy season, the flat brown fruits of the pot tree (Lecythia longifolia), which are called uapú by the Surára and kurupú by the Pakidái, are appreciated to this day (365).

365. The Waiká have the name "wabu" for them (Zerries, 1956b, p. 149; Zerries, 1958c, p. 177); Barker, 1953, p. 443).

Besides these most important vegetable products that are gathered, there are also a great many animal ones. To be named here above all is the honey of several species of small bees (366)

[136]

366. There are said to be more than 20 different varieties of them.

Surára
Pakidái

/80 cont./

245 [262] Among the vegetable foods of the Surára and Pakidái, bananas, of which I found nine different varieties, occupy first place today. Of these, in turn, the most frequently cultivated is the mealy banana (Musa paradisiaca normalis; the regional caboclo population calls it pacovinha) -- kuratá -- (372).

[174]

372. With regard to its origin, Sauer writes: "The plantains and bananas (Musa paradisiaca) originated in southeastern Asia and were there bred into a great variety of seedless cultivated forms. Their presence in the New World is considered by many as due to post-Columbian introduction" /cited in English/ (Sauer, 1950, p. 526).

• 192 245 Kuratá, however, is also the general designation for all bananas (373). In addition, the following special names were

[184]

373. Zerries gives the same name with regard to the Waikás (Zerries, 1956b, pp. 152, 155), and Koch-Grünberg gives the following names for the Karaiben Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/: "kurá:tana," "kura:tana´," or "kuratanâ" (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, pp. 47, 268). The corresponding Xiriána designation, namely, "kalatá:ke," is very similar (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, p. 306). This definitely proves that the banana, or at least one variety, reached the Waikás, Xiriána, Surára, and Pakidái from Karaiben tribes. The myth concerning the origin of the banana, which the Surára chief told me (see p.249), also shows that this fruit came from the outside only in very recent times.

[174]

given me for the other eight varieties (374):

[184]

374. The Waikás, too, use very similar terms for certain varieties of bananas (Zerries, 1956b, p. 163):

/81/

192 245

Designation of the Surára and Pakidái:	Designation of the regional caboclo population:
pakatarimã	pacovão
kuratá pauximí	inajá
nakaximí	São Tomé roxa
rokojá	São Tomé branca
rokomã	banana maçã (?)
parauá	caité
roõrenvõkãkõ	banana bajé
xiahíma	Banana govêrno (375)

[24]

375. Unfortunately, I could not carry out a botanical classification of these varieties.

245 [412] [824]

With the help of a digging stick made from the wood of the pupunha palm and 1.60-1.80 meters long, which has a flattened point at the lower end (Ill. 38), or a broken bow-staff, cuttings of banana trees are planted in the clearing, and after only a few months they are full-grown and bear fruit. The work of planting as well as the care of the plants falls to the men, while the women help only with the harvest (376).

[462]

[184]

376. Among the Waikã, the plants are cared for by men and women (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

Besides the banana, the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) -- komunamã -- is cultivated to a considerable extent. Cuttings are used for planting, but occasionally seeds as well. These palms, which always stand between the bananas, give the clearings of the Surára and Pakidái a characteristic stamp (Ill. 37). The trunk, 18-20 meters tall, which is covered with pointed thorns -- mímicibã -- and can therefore be climbed only

[481]

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/83 cont./

252
412
[177]
[123]
[192]

396. (cont.)
a few graters out of the sides of our empty gasoline cans by boring numerous holes in them with a nail. They were very happy over these and maintained that it was considerably more agreeable to grate on them. They also immediately had a name for this grater -- kabaricinamó.

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184
412

397. The Xiriâna, too, grate the manioc roots on rough slabs of granite (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308).

252 The grated pulp is then pressed out by hand with the help of small, square strips of plaiting (see p. 112), which are rolled up (398).

398. The poison is removed from the manioc pulp in the same way among the Xiriâna (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308).

Among the Surára I found three tube presses and among the Pakidái five, which they had obtained from the Xiriâna (see p. 112). With the flour the women bake, on large, flat granite stones under which a fire is kindled, manioc flat-cakes, which are consumed with pleasure. This food, which appeared among them only a comparatively short time ago, seems to become
273 more and more popular. The preparation of kaschirí is unknown (399).

[114]
[177]

399. Since, however, my servant, a pure-blooded Tukano /Tucano/ Indian, felt a great desire for a slight alcoholic intoxication at the sight of the manioc flat-cakes, he taught the Surára how to make kaschirí. At first they tried this unknown drink very critically. But after the first swallow their eyes shone, and they slapped Mateus on the shoulder enthusiastically and assured him again and again how good it tasted to them.

/88 cont./

123
276

434. (cont.)
servant Mateus and I were thereafter dependent on the cultivated tobacco of the Indians, which, however, was so strong that we simply could not enjoy it. Mateus, however, had the happy idea of washing the tobacco several times and then he let it dry in the sun. Since we had plenty of cigarette paper with us, we were not obliged to give up our customary enjoyment of cigarettes. We could never have become accustomed to sucking out the tobacco, for every attempt resulted in retching.

276 The narcotic snuff powder, similar to yopo or paricá, is made up of various ingredients, of which I was able to identify, besides the roasted and pulverized paricá seed (Piptadenia peregrina Benth.), the ashes of the burned bark of a wild species of mimosa (Mimosa acacioides?) -- hekurâhihenâ -- (435), as

[192]
[776]
[787]

435. This, it should be noted, contains the word with which the gigantic animal and plant spirits are called -- hekurá -- with which the men are able to make contact only by means of the snuff powder.

well as a cultivated pepper plant /89/ (Piperacea sp.) -- maxarahá -- (436) (437).

[192]
[184]

436. Zerries found the same combination among the Waiká, and even the names for the pepper plant are almost identical; the Waiká call it "masho hara." The bark of the mimosa, in which Zerries suspects there is an alkaloid, is, however, used only in the dried or roasted state (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

[126]

437. Herr Prof. Dr. Klaus Soehring of the

/91 cont./

821 795 without food and drink, between earth, sun, and moon (444).

444. One feels reminded here of the conception of the Homeric Greeks, who also assumed that the dead, after actual life has gone, are obliged to lead a wretched shadow-existence.

All Surára and Pakidái therefore greatly fear that after their deaths they might become such shadows. That is why, after military encounters, they make an effort to recover their fallen fellow-tribesmen, in order to cremate them. Though only the head of old persons is cremated (see p. 153), it is believed that this suffices to carry the soul up to the moon. Enemies are not cremated, however, for the shadow existence is desired for them.

821 The countless stars, which are also all inhabited by tribes, are allies of the moon (445). If a shooting star falls, it is

445. The Surára and Pakidái do not have special designations for the individual stars and constellations. There are only two general names, star -- purimá -- and big star -- purimá breu.

• [192]

believed that the inhabitants of one star are visiting those of another.

The sun is of only minor importance in the religious life. It is regarded as rather weak and powerless, because it stands alone in the sky, has no strong allies, and travels around the earth-disk [795] like a vagabond. It rules only the wandering souls of the uncremated dead and uses their shadows in order, in the protection of them, to slake its burning, unquenchable thirst on human beings, animals, and plants. In perspiration, my informants told me, one sees clearly how it draws the liquid out of bodies, and subsequently there remains for human beings and animals a feeling

/91 cont./

821 of thirst and weakness, while plants often wither. For this reason, and especially out of fear of the shadows, the sun's rays are regarded as dangerous. Therefore, tasks for which one must expose himself to the direct radiation of the sun, for example, forest clearing, cultivation of fields, and house construction, are preferably undertaken in cloudy or even rainy weather. In the latter case, there is even a direct /92/ connection with the moon. A large tree stands on this celestial body, in the middle of the open maloka. When Poré shakes it, the wind rises first, and after that rain falls. The aversion of the Surára and Pakidái to the merciless sun's rays of the equatorial zone has a further, matter-of-fact explanation, for in former times, as pure hunters and gatherers, they practically never came out of the eternal twilight of the primeval forest.

821 The awe of Poré and the moon is so great that the Indians 774 do not dare pray personally to this united Supreme Deity. Serras 774 /sierras/ -- peatíle -- as well as gigantic animal and plant [1982] spirits -- hekurá -- (446), who live on them and are characterized [192]

446. This word is derived from hetumisse = heaven and he = head, above.

by supernatural qualities, are the mediators. The serras are well suited for this, because they are situated between the earth, on the one hand, and the moon and sun on the other. They are regarded as higher divine helpers, who, after Poré and Perimbó, are the mightiest. At the same time they are regarded as the masters of all the animal and plant spirits living on them. Their power is much greater than that of the sun because there is, of course, only one sun whereas there are innumerable serras. Their attitude toward Poré and Perimbó, however, is not always a loyal one. Usually they are on their side, to be sure, but if there is occasionally a quarrel between them, it may happen that they ally themselves with the sun for a time. The united Supreme Deity has taken precautions, however, and considered any possible

/102 cont./

755 756 114 faith and to what extent he is faking" (506). The fact that

506. Baldus, 1931, p. 142.

even in modern medicine great importance is now attributed to the suggestive influence of the physician on his patients is shown in the following statements by Hans Grimm: "If we emphasize that the suggestive influence of the physician's personality on the patient is often of decisive influence (Jores), if we use hypnosis, the so-called 'autogenous training,' etc., we are, in our own way, returning to what was already playing a role in shamanistic techniques" (507).

507. Grimm, 1958/59, p. 357.

769 3. Religious Festivals

Every year, toward the end of the dry season, March-April, the Surára and Pakidái jointly celebrate the festival in memory of the dead -- patapáanomão -- (508). It always takes

[192] 508. This contains the word for corpse, the male or female dead person -- anomão.

place in the large, open Surára maloka Jaracá (see pp. 25 ff.). Occasionally a few families of friendly tribes (Xiriána, Puseheweterí, Aramamesterí, etc.) also take part. The [114] patapáanomão festival, which I witnessed in all its phases, /103/ was held during the period from the fourth to the sixth of 769 April, 1956. But even before that there were great preparations 251 for this purpose. The men set out on a joint hunting expedition in order to kill as many tapirs as possible, the meat of which was then roasted on roasting racks over an even fire, not too hot, until it was black and bone-hard, so that it could be kept for a

Surára
Pakidái

/115 cont./

123 157 twilight of the forest, a packet of cigarettes fell out of my trousers pocket. Who can describe my astonishment when in the evening at a halting place an Indian brought back to me the packet with the contents intact. Naturally, I gave the honest finder the cigarettes and a knife in addition.

Similarly, during my months-long stay with the two tribes I always had all the trunks, boxes, and bags standing open, and yet nothing was ever stolen from me. Even the barter of ethnographic objects always took place, usually under the supervision of the chiefs, in perfect peace and tranquility. When I presented knives, pots, glass beads, and other objects to men, women, or children, /116/ they always took them with impassive faces, but without expressing gratitude. There is no word for "thanks" in their language, any more than there is in the other Indian languages. In their shining eyes, however, I could read that they were pleased.

• [92]

152 157 Before the departure of a member of the family there are never any sentimental scenes between relatives, let alone endearments, and even at the return one can see aroused emotion only in the shining eyes.

123 In the presence of strangers, women and girls in particular are at first timid and grave, but when one has gained their confidence, they are gay and unrestrained. I very quickly gained the affection of the children and with it also that of their parents and the other adults. One's behavior, of course, plays an important part in relations with the Indians. If one approaches the Surára and Pakidái in a friendly and courteous manner, one can accomplish anything with them. On the other hand, if one expressed himself disapprovingly with regard to their customs and habits, scolded them, or beat a child, he would be inviting their antagonism. Thus, a visit to the malokas of these Indians is not to be recommended to nervous people, for one does not find any rest throughout the entire day, and it is often lacking at night as well. There were always men, women, and children standing or sitting around me. In the beginning, they tirelessly pronounced the words of their language for me, but they never laughed at me if I repeated them with the wrong accent. At first they even

3: Rodrigues--6 L-4 (no date) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

/136 cont./

• 192
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	Surára and Pakidái	Waika	Karimé	Siriano	Waroma
Tongue	-ika, P -ika	-ika	-iga	-i:ga	-ʔakuda
Tooth	-aiki, P -aiti	-aiti	-aiki	-ai:ki	-aikuda
Mouth	-kahiti	-kahiti	-gi:nihi	-gi:nig	-ihidi
Nose	-kuiihe, P -ruiihe	-kuihihi	-naihihi	-kiihipe	-hinohidi
Eye	-mámok, P -mámu	-mámok	-má:mu	-má:mũ	-mami
Ear	-niwmahiha, P -wimihiha	-yinthith	-yamaha	-yamʔ'ha	-hinhamada
Forehead	-hóho, P -hóho	-hoho	-yahoho	-hʔ:ho	
Head	-hi	-hi	-yá:hi	-i:ha	-hi
Head hair	-hendi, P -hendi	-hitandi	-yahintahi	-hiti:ha	-hemeuda
Arm	-hiko, P -hiko	-hiko	-yápoho	-hi:ho	-pohuda
Hand	-imaka, P -imak	-imik	-yámi	-ihi:ha	-ʔamida
Foot	-mamiha, P -mamuyaiha	-mámik	-yahiõ	-mihʔ'ha	-maimada
Knee	-mihiho	-mahiho	-mihaho	-mahiha	-hemoha
Chest	-hariti, P -hariti	-ruhehího	-yápári	-haiiha	-laiihi
Water	maʔ	mãi	maha	miʔ'pe	maimi
Fire	hawahi	hia miki	oi:hi	oiha	hoaiiõ
Rain	maʔa	mã		mãi	maiuda
Wind	ihohó	waiiõi	yá:ri	waii:ii	ipohó, wa
Sun	pemiboinãi, motohi	motóha	motáha	haiip(e)ñ	pimoró
Moon	parimho	pihho	pari:ho	wii:ho	puipuhi
Soil	mahitaha	mãiita	maĩ:ta	maiita	maihaõi
Mountain	pontíe	wãi	haha	taiõi:mĩ	hoimaõi
Stone	mãi	mãhoma	mã:ma	ma:maha	maʔdamã
House	wyaã	yáno	yá:no	wyã'nõ (village)	saiõ
Pot	hahohi	hahíha	hãhohi	hapóga	hahohi
Man	wahnõ	ãõlõ		hawi:mĩ	wamoõi
Woman	tuĩ	tõĩ	tuĩ	thaytha-ʔ'ti:ipõi:le	tutuda
Mother	nãpe	nã		nã:pe	ihonnatuã
Tapir	hima	hima	hi:ma	hi:ma	taʔmã
Jaguar	Iva	ʼla	tihi	dihi	poʔli

/137/

192
197

	Surára and Pakidái	Waiká	Karimé	Širiana	Waroma
Deer	kayá	kéya	kéia	kaiiza	a?zá
Maracajá	yaí	gidamdai	yauezí	tzáo	ki?danami (puma)
Cutia	tómá	tómí	makóro	tó:mí	
Paca	amutá	amúta		amúta	amoiá
Mutum	paruri	háluli	pá:ri	há:li	paluli
Jacamim	wyapáa	yápi	yá:pi		
Jacaré	tóa	tóro	tóri	tó:li	iwalamá
Fish	yu:ri	yúli	yúri	mayúli-tí(i)na	íimá:
Crayfish	oké	óko		ó:ko	
Banana	kuratá	kuratá	kura:tí	kalatí:ke	ukumatadí

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128

The languages have been arranged in such a way that those which seem to be nearest to the Surára lexically follow it directly, and those which differ from it the most come last. This gradation of similarity with respect to the Surára is given here, however, only on the basis of impressionistic findings, which, furthermore, rest only on an examination of language samples containing the above 40 words. It is therefore not a reliable basis for a linguistic classification of the entire group, though one may see in it an indication of the relationships of the individual languages to each other. In any case, support for the classifications of Mason and McQuown (pp. 1-3) cannot be drawn from it. /The bibliography on pp. 137-138 of the original source is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

[114]
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Sanema
Casapare
Pemon 55%

/183 cont./

At the other end of the island of Maraca the territory of the Taurepan (Pemón) begins, and it is interesting to note that about the year 1911 the Casapare, under the command of one captain Kuranaí, had established peaceful contacts with the neighboring Caribe for the purpose of acquiring by barter European utensils, which they valued very highly. The custom of cultivating small plantings, which were noted by Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, and Gheerbrandt (1955, p. 345), must also be of Caribe origin.

Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308) was able to publish the first vocabulary of a Yanoama language, and, as the same author points out, some words of Caribe origin can be distinguished in this idiom of the Uraricapará River, /184/ but almost all of them refer to utensils and cultivated plants of Caribe or European origin.

The other group (Waica?) was visited by Koch-Grünberg four weeks after his first encounter with Yanoama people, with whom he lived in a rancheria on the Motomotó across from the Sierra Marutani. This group had relations with the Makú of the Auarí River, from whom they adopted certain cultural elements, such as agriculture. We do not have a vocabulary from this group, but, according to information given to Koch-Grünberg by his native companions, they speak the same Yanoama idiom with slight dialectal differences.

The expansion of the Casapare toward the north is of recent date, since their sworn enemies, the inhabitants of the Paragua, as well as the Pemón to the northeast, ceased their reprisals and allowed the unhindered advance of the Yanoama nomads. It seems that at the same time the Sanemá of the southwest and the Casapare began to invade the zone. At the present time, the Yanoama dominate as far as the Marí River, a left tributary of the Paragua (5° 10'). The Pemón to the east of the Paragua have vacated the space between this river and the Caroní. Their nuclei are to be found on the Gran Sabana, in the southeastern part of Venezuela. Under the joint influence of civilization and the mission they have lost their characteristics as Caribe

/191 cont./

114 members of the Franco-Venezuelan Expedition to the Upper Orinoco (1951) (cf. Grelier, 1955b; Anduze, 1958). Finally the Waica were studied between April of 1954 and August of 1955 by the German ethnologists Zerries and Schuster, who are preparing a monograph on this Yanoama subtribe.

101 The southernmost groups of the Yanoama are known as
114 Xamatari, Araraibo (Seitz, 1960), Surara and Pakidai (Becher, 1960). The latter presented a very extensive study based on the experiences that he had during the nine months (October 1955--June 1956) that he lived among them.

101 Because of the lack of comparative data, we have con-
128 sidered all these /192/ local groups as parts of a Samatari (people of the tapir) subtribe who represent a very autocthonous entity of the Yanoama. We would give warning, however, that this classification is subject to future changes, as is also the map of Yanoama distribution which we have just discussed.

126 The linguistic material which the author of the present
● 192 work was able to assemble during his stay among the Sanemá consists of a vocabulary of the Nabudub, who live on the upper Ventuari, and of the Sanemá of the upper Caura. The former vocabulary contains 270 words, and the latter, 730 entries (Wilbert, 1961b).

128 In order to classify this material within the different
192 Yanoama idioms, we compared the two vocabularies with others
174 belonging to various Yanoama languages, and in this way we
197 established, insofar as we were able, a basic vocabulary, calculating the minimum distances existing between them, according to the glottochronological method.

192 We have indicated that the Nabudub and Sanemá vocabu-
197 laries were compiled by the author. The vocabulary of the
174 Pubmatari (Sanemá of the Canaracuni) comes from Vinci (1956,
126 pp. 351-357). This vocabulary has a total of 278 words, 73
127 of which correspond to the basic vocabulary. According to what the author says on pages 159 (1956) and 133 (1959), this is most probably a Pubmatari vocabulary.

/192 cont./

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The Casapare vocabulary was taken from Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308). It has 303 entries in all, 65 of which corresponds to the basic vocabulary. There is another Casapare vocabulary compiled by Armellada and Matallana (1942, pp. 101-108), which has a total of 232 entries, 54 words of which correspond to the basic vocabulary. From the expedition's itinerary we know that the last-mentioned authors visited the Shirianá of the Paramichí River (tributary of the headwaters of the Paragua), a zone considered in the present work as an extension of the Casapare territory of Brazil.

Koch-Grünberg obtained his vocabulary among the Schirianá of the Uraricapará (1923, p. 288), and a comparison of the two vocabularies seems to indicate a closer affinity between them than that which exists with any other Yanoama language. The glottochronological calculation is based on Koch-Grünberg's material.

The Waica vocabulary comes from Dr. Zerries, who generously furnished us a basic one of 96 words of the Waica of the upper Orinoco.

Recently another vocabulary of the same language was published by /map appears here/ /193/ Anduze (1958, pp. 258-267), which contains 369 entries. The present calculation is based on the material provided by Zerries.

We give the "Samatari" vocabulary this name provisionally, for more precisely it is the idiom of the Surara and Pakidai of the Demini River in Brazil. The material was given to us by Dr. Becher in the form of a basic vocabulary which contains 85 words. Between the Surara and Pakidai there exist only slight dialectal differences. A vocabulary of 40 words of the same idiom was published in the monograph on these Indians by Becher (1960, pp. 136-137). Another vocabulary of the southern Yanoama was published by Seitz (1960, p. 306) and contains 40 entries. The few words which permit making a semantic comparison with other similar languages indicate that the Araraibo-Xamatari of Seitz is closer to the Surara, Pakidai, Waica, and Karimé than to the Sanemá and Casapare.

[text continues on p. 44]

/193 cont./

174 197 [192] 127] We were not able to obtain the vocabulary of the Karimé published by Salathé (1932, pp. 314-316). Dall'Igna Rodrigues (1960, pp. 134-138) places it between the Waica and the Casapare (Schirianá of Koch-Grünberg).

According to the results of the lexico-statistical calculation (cf. p. 47), it can be said that the idioms compared form a linguistic conglomerate whose internal divergences date from 6-35 minimal centuries (mc). By their temporal distribution they constitute two more or less distinct groups: a) a Sanemá family with Nabudub, Sanemá, and Pubmatari, with an internal divergence of 6-17 mc., and b) a Casapare family with Samatari, Waica, and Casapare and with an internal divergence of 8-21 mc. The extreme languages are Nabudub (of the Sanemá) and Casapare. The distance of the Waica from the three Sanemá idioms corresponds to 17 mc., which is the same as the maximum internal distance of the Sanemá family, and the Nabudub have the same difficulty in understanding a Pubmatari or a Waica; they should, however, understand each other, although with some difficulty. The Waica has greater ties with the Samatari, with whom he can communicate orally without any great difficulty.

Other classifications of the Yanoama idioms were made by Rivet (1924, p. 678), Loukotka (1944, pp. 8-9), Mason (1950, p. 254), Rivet-Loukotka (1952, p. 1140), McQuown (1955), Swadesh (1959), and Dall'Igna Rodrigues (1960, pp. 136-137).

Koch-Grünberg (1913, pp. 455-458) had established by 1913 the independence of the Yanoama idiom (Shiriana) from the Caribe and added that the idiom apparently represented an isolated language. Rivet (1924, p. 678) and W. Schmidt (1926, p. 211) shared the opinion of Koch-Grünberg regarding the affiliation and independence of the "Shirishana" family. /194/ The classification of the "Shirishana Family" by Rivet-Loukotka (1952, p. 1140) includes the following idioms:

Shirishana Family

[101] a) Shirishana (or Guaharibo), who live dispersed in small groups in the interior, along the tributaries of the

/208 cont./

241 [177] Among the Sanemá, doubtless as a result of their contact with their Macú and Caribe neighbors, agriculture has taken on increasing importance. The manner of cultivation is still very rudimentary, that of "slash and burn." The principal products are: plantains, bananas, sweet and bitter yuca, ocumo /malanga/, and certain herbs which have magical importance (cf. Barker, 824 241 1953, p. 444, similar plants among the Waica). Among the magical plants of the Sanemá there is one on which they lavish great care. An informant told us about the general consternation which seized all of them one day when a band of enemies tore up, during the night, all the magical plants of their conucos. They believed that they were going to die or at least become sick, and the "sablf had much work" in order to save his people. There is here a similar belief which we have already noted in connection with the eagles and hanekasá.

241 178 [628] Agriculture has given a degree of stability to the Sanemá subgroups and has introduced changes in their traditional social system. Not all the groups have adopted this new economy and disputes and fights frequently arise because the gatherers indiscriminately appropriate the products of a conuco of the agricultural group. [648] That was the motive which caused the Makiritare to fight with the Sanemá, who at that time had still not adopted the agriculture which flourished among their neighbors.

231 The Sanemá do not have domestic animals, and even dogs are uncommon. It is possible that the Yanoama have adopted them recently. [792] They have still not found a specific name for this animal, and they call it póliawan, like the jaguar. Some informants insisted that there is a phonetic difference between the word póławan = jaguar and póliawan = dog, but there cannot be the slightest doubt but that the same word is involved. They raise dogs so that they may serve them as helpers in hunting.

In a Sanemá rancheria there are frequently found animals of various species, but tame. The hunters take home young turkeys, cranes, macaws, and parrots, as well as guinea pigs, lapas, and monkeys, as presents for their wives or children. /Illustrations appear here./

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

a torrid sun or the cold dankness of the forest after dark, the Indians are especially subject to respiratory troubles, bronchitis and chronic catarrh being common. It must be a short step from these to tuberculosis, to judge by the widespread incidence of the latter, though it is worth recording that among the Samatari themselves the disease does not appear to have reached the same alarming proportions as among the Taurepàn of the Eastern uplands, where it [192] is a real scourge. Their name for it is an onomatapoeic one—*toctocmòh*—suggesting the coughing and catarrhal effects of any malady of the respiratory system, to which the word is applied.

[784] They are more afraid of tuberculosis than of any war, or any surprise [721] attack at night. Tribes infected with *toctocmòh* become taboo, and by the same token immune from attack, because their enemies are more afraid of their tuberculosis than their arrows. I was told this by Uarema, who said that some time ago a party of their enemies (of unspecified origin) set out to attack them. They had already been several days on the march when they learned that the Guayca were suffering from a bad epidemic of colds and catarrh. They gave up their idea of attacking them, and returned to their own lands.

752 Wounds infected by insects can be quickly cured, the reason being that with 164 these primitive Indians the defence-mechanism is vigorous and reacts immediately when assisted by antibiotics or sulphonamides. In this connection I have often determined by experiment the relative healthiness of the forest compared with the unhealthiness of the grasslands or savannah lying open to the sun. In the forest, damp and mouldering like some subterranean world, wounds rarely * become infected, even if they are not kept clean.

123 I once fell down on a clay hillside, in the Upper Cuyuni country, with a 164 machete in my hand. It was pouring with rain and everything was covered with 752 mud and very slippery. The machete stuck into the ground as I fell forward, and my hand—as happens in the case of a fall like this—automatically tightened on the tool to help me regain my balance and slid along the blade, which was always kept razor-sharp. I had three fingers cut open right through the middle joint, the muscles and tendons being severed. We had nothing with us, not even a clean handkerchief. I at once closed my hand and bound up the fist with a bit of old rag. We then spent some days making our way down to the base-camp where we had our medicines and disinfectants. There I opened my fist, to find the cuts miraculously closed up, without the slightest sign of any infection. A

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

thing they could ever have imagined. It was the first time a stranger had learned to articulate the explosive vocables of their savage, noisy tribe.

Unlike Makiritari and Pemontòn, languages of Carib origin with very frequent aspirates, the Shirian tongue is chanted rather than spoken and possesses few aspirates. In all probability it is close to the fountain-head of all language—that is, a common-sense arrangement of sounds and chants—and it is more adapted to forest conditions, being 'howled', with the accent on the last syllable of the word, so that the sound echoes over a considerable distance.

The language is richer than might be supposed from the backwardness of the Indians who speak it. Later on, with Luis Antonio's help, I was able to complete a vocabulary of more than eight hundred words. The most surprising feature is that many of the words have an undeniable affinity with the Malayan language. One example is '*tuan*', the word (indifferently prefixed or suffixed) by which the Shirian refers to a man as such, differentiated from other forms of life or other things, and therefore implying a certain superiority, as in 'sir'. This is its exact equivalent in Malayan. Another example is '*pulipuli*' (moon), which is too close to the Malayan '*pulang*' for the similarity to be accidental. And so on.

I profited from my stay with the Shirians by analysing some of their mental processes, their psychical reflexes and their reactions to conditioned phenomena such as come under the general heading of 'psychotechnics'. I had with me a few sheets of cardboard from the wrappings of my medical supplies, and a stub of pencil (lost for some time, this turned up in the possession of a good lady who was using it—with results that were hard to discern—as a cosmetic). I would write a word in very clear block letters, or I would draw a face, on one side of the sheet. Then I would give the pencil to a Samatari who had been following my actions with the closest interest and ask him to copy exactly what I had written or drawn.

I repeated this test several times, and some curious results were produced. They may contribute something of value towards the analysis of primitive mentalities, and I reproduce them opposite.

With this test, even at a first glance, we can make some contribution towards a definition of the Indians' mental processes, which are still at the stage where their intelligence is wholly analytical. They have not yet developed the power of synthesis, which comes later. This is clearly shown by the Shirian copies of the face. They render all the details, without, however, being able to unite them

Waica
Guaharibo

/434 cont./

199 Nevertheless, what distinguishes the Guajaribo as a
101 separate group from the Guaika, even more than the small differences in language, are certain differences in their habits and material culture.

101 The Guajaribo share a goodly portion of their habitation
197 zone with the Maquiritare /Makiritare/ Indians, who live to the north. As a result of this, it appears that they have adopted
[248] many things from Maquiritare culture; for example, they culti-
[352] vate yuca more than the /435/ Guaika do. Their cotton ham-
[342] mocks and those of the Guaika seem to be a simplified version
[484] of the ones which the Maquiritare make. They also build some few ranchos with double-sloped roofs. And, like the Maquiritare, they travel much farther than the Guaika.

191 A certain number of the Guajaribo are bilingual, and they
192 speak Maquiritare in their commercial relations. They have also adopted a certain number of Spanish words through the Maquiritare and through their outside contacts, which have been more numerous than the contacts which the Guaika of the Orinoco have had with outsiders.

101 The title "Guajaribo" seems to be a name given to this tribe by outsiders and adopted by them for commercial reasons. The Maquiritare call the Guajaribo "Shidishana" or "Shiriana." These names, Shidishana and Shiriana, are the ones which the Guajaribo themselves employ when they talk among themselves or when they talk with the Guaika and the Maquiritare.

Maps

126 I have not been able to find a map of the exact territory inhabited by the Guaika /Waica/ and Guajaribo /Guaharibo/
[114] tribes. For example, on most of the maps the Ocamo River is shown running almost parallel to the Padamo River, when in reality it runs almost parallel to the Orinoco River. I have corrected some of these errors, but my maps are still only approximations.

126 On the map of the local area of El Platanal, I have tried
628 to show the friendly and hostile relations between the settlements, as well as the approximate location of the Guaika

/444 cont./

241 The land is cleared by first pulling out all the small plants and stems; then the trees which reach a trunk diameter of around 25 centimeters are cut with a machete, and finally the large trees are cut down with an axe.

[313] Sometimes they climb the tree and attach a liana to it so as to be able to pull it to direct its fall.

After the trees have had sufficient time to dry out on the ground, they cut off the branches and pile them up with the underbrush in order finally to burn them. Owing to the abundance of rainfall, it is impossible for them to wait for a dry period. I have seen them burn the weeds in their conuco after it had rained heavily the night before. Sometimes they must bring dry firewood in order to make the damp weeds burn.

An old woman told me one day: "These people of today [412] have it easy. We did not have machetes and axes in former [178] times. Fire was our principal tool. /445/ We had to carry a lot of firewood to pile up around the trees in order to bring them down by fire."

412 There is an indication in their language that at one time they 174 used stone axes before being able to acquire metal axes and • [192] machetes. They use the same word, "boo," to designate both the machete and a certain stone which they use for grinding the "yopo" powder. This stone has the proper form for making an ax out of it, if a handle were attached to it. Nevertheless, the relationship between these objects, if there was one at one time, is unknown to the present generation of El Platanal.

241 A bow without a string or a similar stick is the principal 412 instrument which they use for planting. They use it both to loosen the small banana stems for replanting and to open holes in the ground for holding practically any kind of seed.

249 Tobacco is planted first in a garden bed and then transplanted. The small plants are protected from the sun for a few days by means of platano leaves put on a covering for shade.

241 Sometimes a few stakes are fixed in the ground to indicate plantings near the paths, thus keeping the seeds or young plants from being stepped on.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guahariho

middle of the camp, but they preferred to sleep under a simple palm roof resting on four poles which had been erected near the river as a temporary measure when the first advanced party arrived. There they hung their hammocks, made of the same pliable liana threads as their loin-cloths. Apart from their bows and arrows, these hammocks were the only possessions they brought with them. Thus they passed the night close to the river and their boat. They lighted fires and kept them burning all night. Not all of them slept in hammocks. Some squatted on the bare ground close to the fires, but those who used hammocks slung them low to get the maximum benefit of the fire's heat, for all slept naked.

The next morning they came over to the empty *rancho* where we gave them *manioc*, which they knew and appreciated as a special treat. But they refused the cooked food we offered them. One or two of them tasted it, but quickly spat it out. We offered them meat and learned that they cook their game without first skinning it. We gave them salt, which was new to them and which they spat out with dreadful grimaces. It was probably the salt that made them refuse our cooked food. They never tired of *manioc*, and we discovered that *manioc* and *machete* were the only two Spanish words they knew.

The Guaharibos have a curious and revolting habit of secreting in their mouths between the lower gums and the lip a roll of green tobacco as big as the stump of a fat cigar. They do not chew it; it remains there unbroken all day while two streams of greenish juice continuously trickle from the corners of their mouths. Even the children and sometimes the women indulge. The lump, which horribly deforms the lower part of the face, making it look hideous, may have contributed to their reputation for ferocity and savagery. The preparation of the tobacco quids is the duty of the women. The fresh tobacco leaf is rolled with wood-ash, and then the women chew and soak it in spittle until it reaches the right proportions and consistency before passing it on to their mates. Cardona told us this was the universal practice.

The Indians' fear and suspicion of us quickly dispersed.

existed for the past several hundred years. At many points the data used by Zerries to infer that they were until recently hunters and gatherers lend themselves to other interpretations:

> Finally, the Waika connect the general word for food, "ni," with the word for archery, "niai," out of which results that in their conceptual world, subsistence itself in the last analysis results from hunting--which is symptomatic of the way of life of the hunting and gathering heritage of the Waika. (1958:180. My translation.)

The word nii (not ni) usually refers to vegetable food, most of which is cultivated by the Yąnomamö and generally does not include meat. The word for the latter, yąro, conversely, does not apply to vegetable food. Again, there are two words to describe hunger; ohi refers to that kind of hunger that can be satisfied by eating vegetable food, whereas naiiki is a kind of hunger that can only be satisfied by eating meat or fish. And, it is possible for individuals not to be ohi but be naiiki. One could easily argue that subsistence and cultivation are intimately linked, as their word for one form of hunger (ohi) is similar to their word for taro: ohina. The similarity, then, between the word for archery (niaö) and vegetable food (nii, not ni) tells us nothing about the cultural status of the Yąnomamö either in the past or at the present.

In general, Zerries' data are excellent and his conclusions sound; and his major work (1964) will remain the basic ethnographic source on the Yąnomamö for many years.

The Frobenius Expedition was followed by the work of

inter-village visiting and solidarity, for one trade is usually the prelude to another. For example, the Bisaasi-tedi obtain much of their spun cotton and curare arrow points from their Shamatari allies. It takes considerable time and labor to accumulate these items. When the Shamatari are visited by the Bisaasi-tedi, the latter make known their desire to have these items, and their hosts promise to produce them. When the items are accumulated, the Shamatari visit the Bisaasi-tedi to inform them their cotton and arrow points are ready. A feast is arranged and the items are given over to the Bisaasi-tedi after the celebration terminates. The Shamatari then request specific items from their hosts, and the cycle continues. Neither village is completely 'paid up' regarding goods it owes to the other, so that each exchange as Mauss (1954) argued, brings forth another.[1] The imporant point is that Yąnomamö trading is not stimulated by naturally occuring shortages or monopolies on resources; artificial shortages are created and these promote visiting between allies. In Durkheimian terms, the division of labor, irrespective of the causes, promotes organic solidarity between allied villages. And, the kinship category most intimately involved in the trading is the brother-in-law.

. . . Affinal ties between villages, therefore, owe their

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[1] The parallel between this and bride price payment in Burma is striking. See Leach, 1957. It is worth noting at this point that the Yąnomamö have no word for 'free' or 'gift'; the closest they can come to it is: "something given without cause." But nothing is given without cause, and they shrewdly keep track of all debts.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

a newly planted sucker, the more quickly it will bear fruit. Hence, if the Yąnomamö wish to establish a garden that will produce a crop in the shortest period of time, they must plant large cuttings. These can weigh up to 10 pounds each, and transportation of the cuttings becomes a tremendous task.

As will be made clear later, most long moves are usually stimulated by warfare, and the group is under some pressure to establish a new garden as quickly as possible. The Yąnomamö can speed up their schedule of abandoning an area by taking temporary refuge in the village of an ally, by planting crops other than plantains that mature quickly and produce high yields, or by anticipating a serious war and getting an early start on their new garden. When Kąobawä's group was forced to abandon one of its locations because of a war, the group took refuge with an ally and established its new garden near the ally's village. One of the consequences of these factors is that newly established gardens produce their crops in cycles so that there will be periods of plenty interrupted by periods of hunger. After a few years, the garden will mature and produce constantly. The periods of hunger are eased by planting rapidly developing crops such as maize and by working constantly at transplanting the secondary plantain shoots as they appear. Thus, gardening activities vary largely with the relative maturity of the garden and the length of time the people have been living at that site. Once the plantains are producing constantly, other crops are not cultivated as intensively as before. But whatever the Yąnomamö are eating in a given village, they are striving to get their gardens to produce a constant supply of plantains. The fact that a given village may be relying very heavily on maize at some point in time may reflect no more than the fact that the garden is relatively new and the plantains have not yet begun producing constantly.

After a site has been occupied a few years, gardening activities take on a more regular pattern. The "rectum" (*bei kä bosi*) of the garden is gradually abandoned, and a new "nose" (*bei kä hushibö*) is added by clearing adjacent land and transplanting crops. Thus, a garden has a direction—it moves, little by little. Sometimes there will be as many as three or four discrete gardens around a village, all of them producing more or less continuously. The older ones are gradually abandoned because it is simply easier to clear new land than to attempt to weed the thorny underbrush out of the old site. If you have ever attempted to clear prickly brush without wearing protective clothing, you should immediately see the wisdom of the Yąnomamö choice.

In an established garden site, labor follows a more regular pattern. The dry season is usually the time for feasting, visiting, trading, and warfare. Gardening activities are at a minimum at this time of year, but the ambitious will try to work a few hours each day at weeding, transplanting, and burning brush. Most of the heavy labor of felling large trees is restricted to the wet season, when it is cloudy and generally cooler, and the demands of feasting and dancing do not interfere with the work. Still, practical considerations are more important than a fixed schedule of work, and if the gardens are producing insufficient quantities of food, the Yąnomamö will expand their gardens at any time of the year.

GARDEN PRODUCTS Each man's garden contains three or four varieties of both plantains and bananas. The larger portion of the cultivated land will contain plantains, as they produce a higher yield than bananas. The garden will also have a sizeable patch of sweet manioc, a root crop that is boiled or refined into a rough flour by grinding it on a rock and then converting the flour into thick, round cakes of baked cassava bread.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

there, so they copulated with her. After they quenched their desire for sex, Omauwä caused the girls vagina to be changed into a mouth with teeth.[10] Howashiriwä, another of the first beings, was sitting on the trail at this time, very hungry for sex. When Rahariyoma's daughter walked by, he seduced her, but in so doing, lost his penis: her vagina bit it off. It was when this happened that Omauwä's son became very thirsty. Both Omauwä and Yoawä began digging a hole to find water to quench the boy's thirst. They dug the hole so deep that when water did gush forth, it caused a large lake to form and covered he jungle. Then some of the first beings cut down trees, and floated on them to escape the flood. Because this was such a strange thing to do, they changed into foreigners and floated away. Their language also changed into the tongue of foreigners, and gradually became unintelligible to the Yąnomamö. This is why foreigners have canoes and cannot be understood.

Many of the first beings were drowned in this flood. Those who managed to escape and remain Yąnomamö did so by climbing mountains. They climbed Maiyo, Howashiwä, and Homahewä mountains to escape the flood, Maiyo being a peak near the area where Kąobawä's village had its origin. Then Rahariyoma, the mother of the girl whose vagina was changed into a mouth,[11] took a piece of red pigment and painted dots all over her own body. After she was completely covered with red dots, she plunged into the lake and caused it to recede. Omauwä then caused her to be changed into a *rahara*, a snake-like monster that lives in large rivers. After that, she caused Yąnomamö to drown when they tried to cross large rivers, either by eating them or by splashing large waves on them. Omauwä then went downstream and became an enemy to the Yąnomamö. Today he sends hiccups, sickness, and epidemics to the Yąnomamö.

It is because the foreigners refused to climb the mountains to escape the flood that they became enemies to the Yąnomamö. The foreigners tried to make friends with the Yąnomamö after the flood, but because their language was so different, the Yąnomamö refused to be friends. Today, however, the Yąnomamö are becoming friends with foreigners.

After the flood, there were very few original beings left. Periboriwä (Spirit of the Moon) was one of the few who remained. He had a habit of coming down to earth to eat the soul parts of children. On his first descent, he ate one child, placing his soul between two pieces of cassava bread and eating it. He returned a second time to eat another child, also with cassava bread. Finally, on his third trip, Uhudima and Suhirina, two brothers, became angry and decided to shoot him. Uhudima, the poorer shot of the two, began letting h[illegible] arrows fly. He shot at Periboriwä many times as he ascended to *hadu*, but missed. People say he was a very poor shot. Then Suhirina took one bamboo-tipped arrow (*rahaka*) and shot at Periboriwä when he was directly overhead, hitting him in the abdomen. The tip of the arrow barely penetrated Periboriwä's flesh, but the wound bled profusely. Blood spilled to earth in the vicinity of a village called Höö-teri, near the mountain called Maiyo. The blood changed into men as it hit the earth, causing a large population to be born. All of them were males; the blood of Periboriwä did not change into females. Most of the Yąnomamö who are alive today are descended from the

[10]In some variants of this myth she put *piranha* fish in her vagina. These fish bit off Howashiriwä's penis.

[11]There are many linguistic parallels between eating and copulating in the Yąnomamö language. The verb "to eat" also means "to copulate", the verb "to eat like a pig" also means "to copulate excessively", the adjective meaning "satiated, full" also means "to be pregnant." The context of the statement decides the meaning.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

When Kąobawä's group travels, Ariwari emulates his father by copying his activities on a child's scale. For example, he erects a temporary hut from small sticks and discarded leaves and plays happily in his own camp (see Fig. 3–7). His sisters, however, are pressed into more practical labor and help their mother do useful tasks. Still, the young girls are given some freedom to play at being adults and have their moments of fun with their mothers.

But a girl's childhood ends sooner than a boy's. The game of playing house fades imperceptibly into a constant responsibility to help mother. By the time a girl is ten years old or so, she has become an economic asset to the mother and spends a great deal of time working. Little boys, by contrast, spend hours playing among themselves and are able to prolong their childhood into their late teens if they so wish. By that time a girl has married, and may even have a child or two.

A girl's transition to womanhood is obvious because of its physiological manifestations. At first menses (*yobömou*) Yąnomamö girls are confined to their houses and hidden behind a screen of leaves. Their old cotton garments are discarded and replaced by new ones manufactured by their mothers or by older female friends. During this week of confinement, the girl is fed by her relatives; her food must be eaten by means of a stick, as she is not allowed to come into contact with it in any other fashion. She must also scratch herself with another set of sticks. The Yąnomamö word for menstruation translates literally as "squatting" (*roo*), and that fairly accurately describes what pubescent females (and adult women) do during menstruation. Yąnomamö women do not employ tampons; they simply remain inactive during menstruation, squatting on their haunches most of the time. After her puberty confinement, a girl is eligible to begin life as a wife and take up residence with her husband.

Males, on the other hand, do not have their transition into manhood marked by a ceremony. Nevertheless, one can usually tell when a boy is attempting to enter the world of men. The most conspicuous sign is his anger when others call him by his name. When the adults in the village cease using his personal name, the young man has achieved some sort of masculine adult status. Young men are always very touchy about their names and they, more than anyone else, take quick offense when hearing their names mentioned. The Yąnomamö constantly employ teknonymy when a kinship usage is ambiguous. Thus, someone may wish to refer to Kąobawä in a conversation, but the kinship term appropriate to the occasion might not distinguish him from his several brothers. Then, Kąobawä will be referred to as "father of Ariwari." However, when Ariwari gets older, he will attempt to put a stop to this in an effort to establish his status as an adult. A young man has been recognized as an adult when people no longer use his name in teknonymous references. Still, the transition is not abrupt, and it is not marked by a recognizable point in time.

Finally, the children differ from adults in their susceptibility to supernatural hazards. A great deal of Yąnomamö sorcery and mythological references to harmful magic focuses on children as the target of malevolence. Yąnomamö shamans are constantly sending evil spirits (*Hekura*) to enemy villages. There, they secretly attack and devour the vulnerable portion of the childrens' souls (*noreshi*), bringing about sickness and death. These same shamans spend an equal amount of time warding off the dangerous spirits sent by their enemies. Children are vulnerable because their souls are not firmly established within their physical beings, and can wander out of the body almost at will. The

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

most common way for a child's soul to escape is to leave by way of the mouth when the child cries. Thus, mothers are quick to hush a bawling baby in order to prevent its soul from escaping. The child's soul can be recovered by sweeping the ground in the vicinity where it most probably escaped, calling for it while sweeping the area with a particular kind of branch. I once helped gather up the soul of a sick child in this fashion, luring it back into the sick baby. One of the contributions I made, in addition to helping with the calling and sweeping, was a dose of medicine for the child's diarrhea. A consequence of this set of attitudes about the vulnerability of children is that much of the village's activity with respect to shamanism and curing is directed toward the children.

RELATIVES BY BLOOD AND BY MARRIAGE Many forms of interpersonal behavior stem largely from the social roles implied in the kinship system. To be sure, some kinship behavior reflects the two distinctions of age and sex discussed above, for the terminology of kinship itself employs discriminations of this kind. For example, there are terms to distinguish older siblings from younger siblings and terms used by members of one sex only in reference to those of the opposite sex.

The relationship between kinship terms and biological parentage is not the same in the Yąnomamö language as it is in our own. As was shown in the first section of this chapter, people may stand in a child relationship to a number of individuals; that is, it is possible to have multiple "mothers" and "fathers" in Yąnomamö society. The term for mother and father conveys as much of a social as a biological relationship between individuals, and in the daily activities of the Yąnomamö it is the social implications of kinship roles that are most important.

What is implied in the kinship roles can best be seen in the way the kinship terms themselves are formed. All primary kinship terms take the ending *"-mou"* when used to describe the relationship between individuals. Thus, *asheya* means "my younger sibling," but *ashemou* means that individual X *behaves* toward individual Y *as a younger sibling*. This ending, *-mou*, also occurs in nonkinship usage to express "a way of behaving," "to execute a particular activity in a specified manner," or "to perform the activity that is implied by the word to which *-mou* is affixed." For example, *oke* means fresh-water crab and *okamou* means "to go hunting for crabs"; *bowashi* means "a mischievous white monkey" and *bowashimou* means "to act mischievously, to monkey around"; *nowa naba* means "enemy," and *nowa nabamou* means "to become an enemy by behaving objectionably"; *waiteri* means "fierce" and *waiterimou* means "to behave ferociously."

Whenever I would ask the Yąnomamö a question such as, "What do you call Kąobuwä?" the answers would always be in the form of a kinship term to which *"-mou"* was affixed, but rarely in the form "I say such-and-such to him." Calling an individual by a specific term is, however, implied in the "way of behaving" toward that individual. But despite the fact that the Yąnomamö can say, literally, "I call him father" (*kama kä iba, haya ya kuu*), they invariably say *"ya hąimou"*—"I behave toward him as a child."[20] Thus, they express their relationships to others in terms of *ways of behavior*. Each kinship category implies a set of these behavioral norms, and one's social life in the community is established with respect to all other individuals by the kinship terminology employed in each particular case.

[20]Although the word *hąi* translates literally as "father," the expression *ya hąimou* can best be understood with the translation given above.